1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

the fields, cultivate with the hoe, do most of the transplanting of rice, and assist the men at the harvest. They also bring the harvest back to the homestead. Marketing is usually left to the women who carry loads of produce to the city on their backs, settle down for the day to sell it, and return to the villages in the evening with the proceeds. This work is done both by married women and young girls. The Min Chia women are extremely strong, often doing porterage work which in other parts of China would only be done by men.

Most of the rice land is privately owned, but every village has some public land, usually attached to a temple, which is rented out at the usual rate of half the crop to the tenant and half to the public. The proceeds are used to maintain the village school, which is held in the temple itself, and any surplus may be applied either to some public work such as repairs to the temple, or for the expenses of a festival. The public also have the right of shooting and of hunting over all land, the spoil going to the hunter. This right does not mean very much in a closely cultivated area where game is scarce, and though the same free right of the chase applies to the mountain, the Min Chia make little use of it, partly because the control of fire-arms is strict, a license being required, and partly because they show no aptitude as hunters. The wooded slopes of T'sang Shan are the safe retreat of pheasants, hares, partridges, wild goat, deer, and the animals which prey upon them, wolves, leopards, and possibly tigers.[1]

The neglect of the hunting rights is characteristic of the Min Chia attitude to mountains. The entire area of Ts'ang

[1] No tiger has been reported on T'sang Shan for several years. Leopards are not plentiful, but wolves abound, and raid the farms on the plain for chickens, pigs, and even small children. They never hunt in packs, and will not attack an adult, but show no fear of man when encountered on the mountain.

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
Border Peoples AE3

For domestic animals they all have pigs, cows, or sheep. The common variety is the yellow cow, and the P'ien-niu 犏牛, which is a hybrid of yellow cow and yak. The latter are kept as draft animals. During the spring or early summer, when the crops are coming out, the people send their cows up to the mountains in order to save the young crops from being trodden or destroyed by the cows, and at the same time to find grazing food, located between the agricultural and the forest zones. They have a certain number of pastures in definite valleys. The people of one valley or several valleys all cooperate to gather their animals into one grazing ground, and leave it to one family to be responsible in taking care of all the animals sent there. The pasture is open to grazing animals from May, and is closed by the end of September. This is called one season. Fees for the care of each animal in the grazing ground per season vary from palce to place and year to year. The fee for each animal for this past summer was 1.2 tou of corn or wheat. One wonders if this grazing cooperative is not the earliest cooperative in China.

II. ROCK CAVE COOPERATION

Because of the limited amount of cultivable land, and the unreliable harvests caused by the great variability in rainfall, agriculture alone is not enough for their livelihood. They have to depend upon the products of the high mountains for part of their income. The chief products of the high monntains are animal products and medicinal herbs. Therefore, the two important avocations for the people are hunting and herb digging. Both types of work mean a difficult and lonely life in the wild and wet wilderness of the high mountains. One has to drink out of the streams, feed on wild vegetables or animals. At night, one has to seek for shelter under rock cliffs or in caves. Through long years of hard experience, definite places for night dwelling are marked out and named. They are called Rock Nest 岩窝, Long Cliff Nest 长崖窝, Ch'iang Ho Cave 羌活洞, etc. Everybody who goes to the mountains knows where to go for the night. But there are certain traditions or customs about it. That is, when you leave the place you must leave it clean and everything in order. By everything I mean the crude equipment people use for cooking, such as a large piece of rock slab for making dough, a wooden hook which is used to hang the teapot with from the overhanging roof, and three pieces of rocks for the support of the cooking pot. Usually people also gather a heap of dry fuel inside ready for emergency use for later comers. Another good custom is that you can leave your own things inside and go off roaming in the mountains hunting or digging. Even if there are new-comers, there is not only no stealing, but instead they are very hospitable and share each others trophies. The spirit is quite different from that of the plains people. They are neither selfish nor calculating in their dealings with one another. The poor people are usually more generous than the rich. This is true everywhere, and it is true in the mountains as well as in the grassland.

5:Graham E-5 (1933, 1941)1942 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border Peoples AE3

4. Occupations.

463 [423] [462] All Ch'iang are farmers. Even the priests and local rulers have fields which they farm or rent to others. The land, houses, and tools are owned not by individuals, but by families, and all the members of the family cooperate in the work. Men do the plowing, for there is a taboo against women doing so. Men and women cooperate in hoeing, planting, weeding, fertilizing, reaping, flailing, winnowing, husking, wood gathering, etc. Women and girls generally do the cooking, sewing and spinning, and only women weave. There are some blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and painters, but these are farmers who work also at these trades when there is a demand for their labor. There are no silversmiths or goldsmiths, for silver and gold ornaments are bought ready-made or made to order in a Chinese city. Few if any of the Ch'iang are merchants, although there are Ch'iang homes where matches, vegetable oil, wine, and a few other commodities are sold. Even the priests are farmers who have learned to perform the sacred ceremonies when required.

313 Wood is gathered in the forests on the mountainsides. Groups of men and women and boys and girls often go out and return together, singing as they work. Much of the winter supply is gathered in the fall after the crops have been harvested.

482 All loads, even of water or of wood, are carried on their backs. Families that are poor sometimes supplement their incomes by carrying loads on their backs to Kuanshien and to other distant places.

226 There is little fishing, probably because there are not many fish in the mountain streams. Fishing is sometimes done with a baited hook and line, or by a basket-like trap into which the fish enter and are unable to escape.

224 Nearly all the men enjoy hunting, and some who are expert hunt a great deal. Most of the hunting is done in the late fall and winter after the crops have been harvested. Generally a few men with several dogs cooperate and share the spoils. Leopards, wild boar, deer, mountain goats, musk deer, foxes, pheasants and other game are found. Even monkeys are killed and eaten.

241 When fresh land is desired for cultivation, the trees, brush, and grass in a section of the forest are cut down and burnt. This gives a rich soil for a few years, after which the land may be deserted

Mewu

243 fields belong to the tribal head (t'ou-mu) and are distributed by him. Each family must pay rent to the t'ou-mu for the oat fields they cultivate, and this is usually paid off in the form of butter. The oat fields are ploughed by oxen only shortly before sowing time. The amount of oats planted is measured according to 1 to 4 days' work (tien), depending on the size of the family and their wealth in livestock. A day's work is usually 15 mou (about 1 hectare). The
222 tent nomads use very few wild plants. From the fifth to the eighth month they find many field mushrooms on the alpine meadows. They also gather chüo-ma, the edible tubers of potentilla anserina, which are cooked like vegetables, and the roots of which are used to
313 make incense sticks. Wood is needed only for tent stakes, poles for prayer flags and sheep pens. Pine is generally used, which is bought from the sedentary Fantzu.

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224 Hunting is not an important occupation because the Mewu-Fantzu are relatively strict Buddhists. They have no hunting dogs. Usually it is only by chance that an animal which may be valuable in one way or another is killed. Now and then a gazelle hunt is arranged. Trapping is not carried on. The game hunted includes groundhogs, hares, gazelles (Gazella gutturosa Pall.), blue sheep (Pseudois najaur Hdgs.), musk deer, foxes, wildcats, lynxes and wolves. The latter especially are feared because they prey on the animals; human beings are scarcely ever attacked by wolves. Birds
[534] are not eaten and therefore not hunted. As an exception, a vulture is sometimes shot and the bones of its wings are used to make flutes. /31/

262 Since the tent nomads are exclusively cattle-raisers, they are restricted primarily to an animal diet. Their most important food is butter. As we have said, they keep it for a long time, although most of the people prefer fresh butter. They also eat dried casein in the form of a coarsely ground powder (Tibetan: chü-ra), sour milk and fresh, boiled milk. Whey is drunk only by poor people, usually it is fed to the dogs. All vegetable food and condiments, with the exception of mushrooms and chüo-ma, must be bought. The only important vegetable food is "tsamba" (parched barley flour), with which the nomads are always adequately supplied by neighboring sedentary Fantzu or by Chinese, who sell it to them
[415] according to weight. It is stored in bags of coarse woolen material. Wealthy people at times deposit a large supply of tsamba, enough for two or three years, in a temple.

In its simplest form it consists of a strip of thin, light-blue silk one meter long and about 30 centimeters wide, imported from Szechuan (Ch'eng-tu). It is used as an offering, like the obo, especially in the Lamaistic religion, as for example, for an incarnation whose blessing one implores. A khadak is always an appropriate and polite gift.

are used. Offerings include khadaks, darts (for the obo), juniper wood, barley flour, tsamba, butter, sacrificial water in brass bowls, as well as sacrificial paper which, as in China, is burned. Pictures are stamped on the sacrificial paper, for example, a horse surrounded by the symbols of the "eight treasures." (2) Offerings are also made

2. Compare Wadell 7), page 393.

to the mountain spirit before a hunt, especially when the animals to be hunted are hard to capture, for example, musk deer or gazelles. This offering is made on top of the tent, and consists of juniper wood, butter and tsamba. There is another sacrificial rite when war threatens, which undoubtedly goes back to pre-Lamaistic times, and at which lamas are never present. The warriors gather at a place agreed upon and slit open with a knife the belly of a yak, a sheep or a goat. The animal is then cast alive on a fire of yak dung and burned to death along with tsamba and butter.

The sacred animals which wealthy people sacrifice to the spirits can probably also be regarded as offerings. For this purpose they always choose a male animal (yak or sheep), but it /59/ may also be castrated. These animals which are kept in the owner's herd may not be shorn or slaughtered; they are allowed to die a natural death. Since people are very much concerned about keeping them well and alive for a long time, they often decorate them with the above-mentioned bundles of colored ribbons blessed by the lamas. (1)

1. Compare Hermanns 3), page 49.

Oracles and prophecies are sought preferably from the lamas. People value them differently. We have spoken above how the nomads ask a lama to prophesy for them with regard to the driving out of spirits, in order to ascertain whether in a given case this can best be done by a lama or a bŏm-bu. They also let a lama prophesy how to trace a criminal. The lama may say whether and

Mewu

tribe. There /83/ are also fixed rules about the use of pastures during the various seasons (first and second summer pasture and winter pasture). The tent communities do not quarrel about pasture-lands. Violating regulations with regard to pastureland is punished by the t'ou-mu with a fine which must be paid in butter. For every yak that breaks out beyond the boundaries of the pasture its owner must pay two chin of butter.

There seems to be no particular hunting rights, but the t'ou-mu has the authority to forbid hunting under certain circumstances. Thus, for example, during my stay among the Mewu-Fantzu, the shooting of groundhogs was forbidden for definite reasons. In such cases hunting rights are not granted even for money. If a person is caught violating the rules, he is first beaten and then required to pay a fine.

There are no sales transactions involving legal contracts. Stock is sold by the head. The Fantzu are very adroit traders; there are usually no disputes in business deals.

Judicial authority is only theoretically in the hands of the Chinese district administration; in practice it is left to the Fantzu themselves. The Chinese court does not prosecute punishable actions of the Fantzu. Even when a Fantzu has wronged a Chinese, he is not prosecuted directly by a Chinese court, but at the proposal of the district official by the t'ou-mu who, as we have said above, is the superior judge. It is only when very influential Chinese have been robbed that the Chinese authorities send out a military posse. The Chinese for their part do not dare harm the Fantzu, for fear of their revenge. They are glad when the Fantzu leave them alone. Two years ago (1934) Chinese soldiers killed seven or eight Fantzu, whereupon the t'ou-mu immediately sent out his warriors to pursue the Chinese. However, there was no incident because a Mohammedan /84/ officer acted as mediator. A fine of $100 was demanded for each man slain. The incident shows that the Mohammedan played a neutral, respected role between Fantzu and Chinese.

The t'ou-mu can prosecute a crime only if it takes place within the territory of his tribe. If the criminal escapes into another territory, he can pursue him only as far as the border.

The councils of the ts'aowa groups enjoy about the same authority as the t'ou-mu. Their task is a little more arduous since in judicial cases and the pursuit of a criminal, they are appealed to first. The ts'aowa council, however, is required to ask the t'ou-mu for permission to pursue a criminal. As a rule t'ou-mu and ts'aowa work together in such cases.

2: Rock K-5 (1934-) 1947 AF16 Southwest China AF16
Sino-Tibetan Border AE3

They are cruel and savage: they use cross-bows ST 411 291

and arrows to hunt wild animals. They plait a head-band of red *t'eng* (rattan, cane) which they wear; their hair is dishevelled. Their clothes are short and of hemp cloth, their trousers are made of red silk. They wear no shoes, the women use the same [as the men].

"The men and women after the age of 10 tattoo their faces with dragons, phœnixes, and flower-decorations. When one sees them they frighten one. The women tie hemp cloth around their waists. They gather *Huang-lien* for their living; they eat hair and drink blood [that is, they are savages]. They love to eat insects and rats." ST 304 ST 262

The *Li-chiang fu chih lüeh* states that "the men tie their hair together into a knot with a string, seven to eight inches high." ST 302

The Lu-tzu are great hunters and every child carries a cross-bow, shooting every bird in sight. ST 411 224

The trail from the Si La down to Bahang was constructed by Père André and took over three years to build; each laborer received seven cents silver per day and supplied his own food. Bahang is at an elevation of 8,200 feet on a bluff overlooking Do-yon lung-pa [in Li-su, Tima-lo, and in Lu-tzu, Do-mar-lang], whose stream debouches into the Salween to the south. S 487 133

From Bahang the trail leads down a narrow ravine with walnut trees, crosses a small stream near its head, and follows the western valley wall which drops vertically to the bottom of the ravine some 800 feet below. The Lu-tzu, like most mountain tribes, are in the habit of setting fire to the dry, grassy hill-sides in the winter, which makes travelling sometimes very dangerous; in 1922, a year before my visit, three Li-su with their sheep were caught by the sweeping fires, and as there was no escape either up or down the valley, the walls being vertical, they were burnt to death. The slopes are usually covered with tall grasses, bracken (*Pteridium aquilinum*) and a few pines.

Descending steeply over a huge land-slide near the bottom of the Do-yon lung-pa where there was once a Lu-tzu village, now buried under the mass of detritus, we come to the hamlet of Me-ra-dam (the Mu-la-tang of Kingdon Ward). The huts composing this Lu-tzu village, like all others, do not cost more to construct than three silver taels each, material and all (PLATE 189).

From Me-ra-dam the trail ascends in steep zigzags through grass and bracken with scattered *Alnus nepalensis* trees, until near the top of the ridge it enters dense forest of large trees loaded with many epiphytes, while the ground is covered by a single species of pinnate fern with separate fruiting fronds, *Plagiogyria glauca*. The forest on the summit ridge is mainly composed of magnolias (*Magnolia rostrata* and *M. nitida*), Sorbus, and Acer, with Arundinaria undergrowth. This spur is the Do-yon lung-pa—Salween divide and is known as A-lo-la-kha, elevation 9,500 feet. From this divide, where Li-su were clearing the forest for a dwelling, the trail leads steeply over a narrow lateral spur into the depts of the Salween valley (PLATE 190), the slopes being covered with grasses, bracken, and pine trees.

Chang-ra village on the Salween. — Descending past a Li-su hamlet we reach the Lu-tzu village of Chang-ra (Cho-la 卓拉) situated on a gentle alluvial slope at an elevation of 5800 feet.